

THE NATIONAL ERA.

For the National Era.

MILDNESS.

She spoke in tones
So gentle, that the wrathful spirit was
Subdued, and seemed to tremble with a sense
Of fear, lest it should crush so fair, so sweet
An earthly flower. *

The birds of heaven were charmed to hear her voice,

So gently did it flow, and lightly fall.

BLANCHE BENNAIRDE.

For the National Era.

SUMNER'S ADDRESS ON PEACE.

EXPENSIVENESS OF PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

"I cannot," says Mr. Sumner, in his Peace Address, "close this exposition of the War System without a brief endeavor to display the enormous expenditure by which it is sustained. And here figures appear to lose their functions. They seem to pant, as they toil vainly to represent the enormous sum which are called out by the War System. The expense measured by the costs of common life does not allow us adequately to conceive these sums. Like the periods of geological time, or the distances of the fixed stars, they baffle the imagination. Look, for instance, at the cost of this System to the United States. Without making any allowance for the loss sustained by the withdrawal of active men from productive industry, we shall find, that, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution down to 1848, there had been paid directly from the National Treasury—

For the Army and fortifications, \$366,718,209
For the Navy and its operations, 209,994,428
576,707,687

'War,' is of Heathen origin. As a rule of international conduct, it is unworthy of an age of Christian light. It can be vindicated on no earthly grounds. First, by assuming that the War System is a proper agency for deciding controversies between nations, and that the War System is, therefore, to be maintained and strengthened, as the essential means of international justice. Or, second, by assuming the rejected dogma of an atheist philosopher, Hobbes, that War is the natural state of man. Whatever may be the infirmities of our passions, all must perceive that the natural state of individuals, in which they have the highest happiness, and to which they tend by an irresistible heavenly attraction, is Peace. And this is true of communities and of nations, as well as of individuals. The proper rule should be, 'In time of Peace cultivate the arts of war; in time of war, cultivate the arts of peace; train strong and truly great—not by arousing the passions of War—not by nursing men to the business of blood—not by converting the land into a flaming arsenal, a magazine of gunpowder, or an 'infernal machine,' all ready to explode—but by dedicating its whole energies to useful and benevolent works.'

"In condemning the War System, as a barbarous and most wasteful agency, the token and reflex of a state of society alien to Christian civilization, we may except the navy, so far as it may be necessary in the arrest of pirates, of traffickers in human flesh, and generally in preserving the police of the sea. But after the present moment, it will be difficult for the War System to regard the use of fortifications, and of standing armies, otherwise than as an obstacle to the condemnation which attaches to the War System. The fortifications are the instruments, and the army are the hired champions of the great Duel of Nations."

SENATOR WALKER.

Meeting of the Free Soil and Democratic Electors of the town of Southport, Wisconsin.

This amount of itself is immense. But this is not all. Regarding the militia as a part of the War System, we must add a moderate estimate for its cost during this period, which, according to the calculations of an able and accurate economist, may be placed at \$1,500,000,000. The whole presents an inconceivable sum total of *more than two thousand millions* of dollars, which have been dedicated by our Government to the support of the War System—more than seven times as much as was set apart by the Government, during the same period, to all other purposes whatsoever!

Look, now, at the Commonwealth of Eastern States. It do not intend to spend a cent of the War Dept., under whose aeronauts weight these States and the world to the earth. These are the terrible legacy of the past. I refer directly to the existing War System—the establishment of the present. According to recent calculations, its annual cost is not less than *a thousand millions* of dollars. Endeavor for a moment to grapple with this sum by a comparison with other interests.

"It is larger than the entire profit of all the commerce and manufactures of the world.

"It is larger than all the expenditure for agricultural labor, for the production of food for man upon the whole face of the globe.

"It is larger, by a hundred millions, than the amount of all the exports of all the nations of the earth.

"It is larger, by more than five hundred millions, than the value of all the shipping of the civilized world.

"It is larger, by nine hundred and ninety-seven millions, than the annual combined charities of Europe and America for preaching the Gospel to the Heathen.

"Yes! the Commonwealth of Christian States, including our own country, appropriates, without hesitation, as a matter of course, upwards of *thousand millions* of dollars annually to the maintenance of the War System, and, in this way, millions of dollars, laboriously collected, for diffusing the light of the Gospel in foreign lands! With untold prodigality of cost it permeates the worst Heathenism of War, while it seeks, by charities insignificant in comparison, to send to the Heathen the message of Peace. It breeds and fattens here a cloud of eagles and vultures, trained to swoop upon the land, and sends across the sea to the Heathen a solitary dove.

"Still further: Every ship of war that floats costs more than a well-endowed college.

"Every slope-of-war that floats costs more than the largest public library in our country.

MORAL NEED OF SUCH PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

"But it is sometimes said, by persons yet in the leading-strings of inherited prejudice, and with little appreciation of the true safety of the principles of Peace, that all these comprehensive preparations are needed for the protection of the country against enemies from abroad. Wishing to present our cause, without raising any superfluous question as to what have been called 'defensive wars,' on which there are varieties of opinion among us, I will say, that the War System is *not* a war of self-defense, and *here all our voice*, that if these preparations should be so needed at any time, according to the aggressive martial interpretation of the right of self-defense, there is much reason to believe it would be, because the unchristian spirit in which they have their birth, and which lowers and scowls in the very names of the ships, had provoked the danger—as the presence of a brave in our houses might challenge the attack which he was hired to resist. Frederick of Prussia, sometimes called the Great, with an honesty or impudence unparalleled in the history of war, has left us, in his own words, an instructive example, in the real, not the nominal, meaning of the real reasons which urged him to make war upon Maria Theresa, that he had *troupe always ready to act*. Thus did *these preparations* for War become, as they have too often shown themselves, the *incitement* to War. A careful consideration of a human nature, whether as manifest in the conduct of individuals, or of communities, will show that the fatal War Spirit derives much of its allurement from these preparations. Indeed they unquestionably sow the seeds of the evil, which some persons vainly imagine they help to avert. Let it never be forgotten—let it be impressed as a solemn warning to all—*that the spirit of war, and the spirit of troops, always ready to act*, that helped inspire that bloody war of seven years, which first pounced upon Saxony, at last connected itself with the strides of England and France, and drew under its hostile banners, in the distant colonies across the Atlantic, even the savages of the forest.

"But I deny distinctly that these preparations are needed for any just self defense. In the first place, it is difficult, if not impossible, to suppose any such occasion in the Fraternity of Christian States, if War should cease to be established Arbitrarily, if any State should be so truly great and powerful as to be compelled, in such occasions, among the towns, or counties, or states of our extended country. There is no such occasion among the countries of Great Britain, or among the provinces of France. But the same sentiments of good will and fellowship, the same ties of commerce, which unite towns, counties, states, and provinces, are fast drawing into similar communion the whole Commonwealth of Nations. France and England, so long regarded as natural enemies, are now better known to each other, than, only a short time ago, were different provinces of the former kingdom. And, at the present moment, there is a closer, more intimate business and social intercourse between Great Britain and our own country, than there was at the beginning of the present century between Massachusetts and Virginia.

"But, admitting that an enemy might approach our shores, with purposes of piracy, or plunder, or conquest, who can doubt that our surest protection would be found—not in the insane waste of previous preparations—not in the idle fortresses along our coasts, built at a cost far surpassing all our light-houses, and all our colleges—but in the intelligence, union, and energy of our commonwealth, the profound researches of our American antecedents, and their productive industry?

"I think it may be assumed, as beyond question, in the present light of political economy, that the people who have spent most sparingly of actual self-defense at home, on their own soil, before their own hearths—any such melancholy alternative should occur. Consider the prodigious sums that have been squandered by the United States, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in support of the War System, exceeding in all two thousand millions. Surely if these sums had been diverted, to the railroads, and canals, to schools and colleges, our country would possess, at the present moment, an accumulated material power, grander far than any she now boasts. But there would be another power, of more unfailing temper, which would be hers also. Overflowing with intelligence, with charity, with civilization, with all that constitutes a generous State, she would be able to win peaceful triumphs transcending all she has yet achieved, surounding the land with an invincible self-defensive might, and, in their unfading brightness, rendering all glory from War, to the world.

"Well does the poet

"What constitutes a State?
Not high-reared battlement, or labor'd mound,
Thick wall'd or mount'd castle; not towers crown'd;
Not towers, nor bastions, nor towers, nor walls;

Where, lau'ing at the storm, rains ride;

But was, a high-manned strength,

Such men shall render them unable to injure a neighbor, while they abide, insinu'd with all the power of their souls, that their neighbors shall do them an injury, or make them afraid.

"The injection, 'in time of Peace prepare for

war,' is of Heathen origin. As a rule of international conduct, it is unworthy of an age of Christian light. It can be vindicated on no earthly grounds. First, by assuming that the War System is a proper agency for deciding controversies between nations, and that the War System is, therefore, to be maintained and strengthened, as the essential means of international justice. Or, second, by assuming the rejected dogma of an atheist philosopher, Hobbes, that War is the natural state of man. Whatever may be the infirmities of our passions, all must perceive that the natural state of individuals, in which they have the highest happiness, and to which they tend by an irresistible heavenly attraction, is Peace. And this is true of communities and of nations, as well as of individuals. The proper rule should be, 'In time of Peace cultivate the arts of war; in time of war, cultivate the arts of peace; train strong and truly great—not by arousing the passions of War—not by nursing men to the business of blood—not by converting the land into a flaming arsenal, a magazine of gunpowder, or an 'infernal machine,' all ready to explode—but by dedicating its whole energies to useful and benevolent works.'

"Whereas the said Walker has thus violated the Legislature of this State, the same

which he has been duly instructed, and our Representatives are requested, to use their influence to insert into the original act for the government of any new territory already acquired or hereafter to be acquired, that is now free, an ordinance forever prohibiting the introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, into said territory, except as a punishment for crime, of which the party shall have been duly convicted according to law."

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